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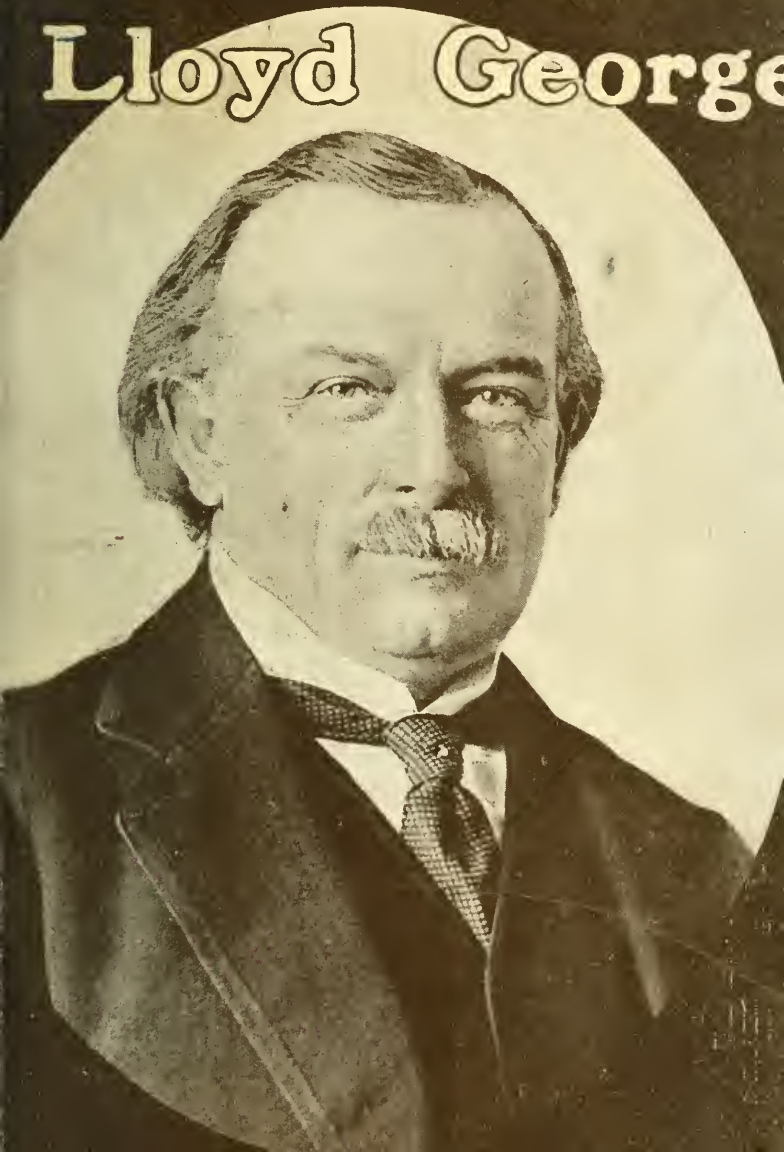

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THE WIT & WISDOM OF LLOYD GEORGE

THE WIT & WISDOM OF LLOYD GEORGE

COMPILED AND EDITED BY

DAN RIDER

LONDON

GRANT RICHARDS LIMITED

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PREFACE

THIS book is an attempt to set forth Mr Lloyd George's gospel in his own words.

His wealth of wit and illustration falls inevitably into the divisions indicated, and it is interesting to note how the great principles of all his campaigns combine in his present supreme effort to give a unity to his life's work.

Who is better fitted to vindicate the rights of small nations than the little man of a little nationality, who has ever fearlessly espoused and fought the cause of little people—the poor—against the domination of arrogance and privilege?

In listening to Mr Lloyd George I have been impressed by the rhythmic quality of his utterance, his eloquent pauses and his poetic imagery—that artistic shell wherein he packs the high explosive of his thought; and I have seemed to catch echoes of the old warrior bards of Wales arousing their fellows in war songs, throbbing with trials

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and triumphs, to the defence of their land and liberties. Mr Lloyd George is in the direct line of the old Welsh tradition, and spiritually akin to the House of David.

I have ventured, therefore, to arrange that parts of some of his speeches shall be presented in the form of free verse, into which they fall naturally, in the belief and hope that this will suggest their original strength and intensity, thus enhancing their appeal to further efforts of Service and Sacrifice in our Nation's cause, both now in the day of battle, and in the New Britain to be, when Victory wins us Peace.

DAN RIDER.

1*st May* 1917.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Lloyd George Data . . .	9
The Great War and the New Britain .	11
War Songs—	
Deutschland über Alles . . .	32
Great Britain	34
A New Britain	36
The War in South Africa . .	38
Land and Landlords . . .	42
The Church, Nonconformity and Education	48
Wealth and Poverty . . .	57
Free Trade and Protection . .	61
The Lords and Democracy . .	65
Wales and the Welsh:—Lloyd George and his Critics . . .	69
Old Age Pensions . . .	73
Miscellaneous	76

LLOYD GEORGE DATA

1863. January 17. Born at Manchester.

1877. Passed Prelim. Exam. of Incorp. Law Society.

1879. Articled to Solicitor.

1884. Admitted Solicitor.

1888. Married Miss Margaret Owen.

1889. Alderman Carnarvon County Council.

1890. April 10. Elected M.P. for Carnarvon Boroughs. Majority 18.
June 12. Maiden Speech House of Commons.

1892. July 8. Re-elected for Carnarvon Boroughs. Majority 196.

1895. August 11. Re-elected for Carnarvon Boroughs. Majority 194.

1896. Visits South America.

1899. Visits Canada.
October 11. War with Transvaal begins.

1900. April 11. Mobbed at Bangor.
October 6. Re-elected for Carnarvon Boroughs. Majority 296.

1901. December 18. Mobbed at Birmingham.

1905. Made Privy Councillor.
December 11. President of Board of Trade.

1906. January 20. Re-elected for Carnarvon Boroughs. Majority 1224.

1908. April 12. Chancellor of Exchequer.
May 28. Introduces Old Age Pensions Bill.
August. Visits Germany.

1909. April 29. Introduces Budget.
May 20. Introduces Finance Bill.
July 30. Speech at Limehouse.

1910. April 14. Introduces Parliament Bill.
April 28. Budget of 1909 passes House of Lords.
December. Re-elected for Carnarvon Boroughs. Majority 1078.

1911. May 4. Introduces National Insurance Bill.

1914. August 4. England enters the Great War.

1915. Minister of Munitions.

1916. Secretary of State for War.
Prime Minister.

THE GREAT WAR AND THE NEW BRITAIN

THE seas are ours, and they will remain ours.

* * *

JUSTICE is the greatest of all military assets.

* * *

IN a long struggle it is the heart that tells, and injustice weakens the heart of a nation.

* * *

NATIONAL honour is a reality, and any nation that disregards it is doomed.

* * *

LET us be quite frank with ourselves. Frankness is the beginning of wise action; it is the beginning of victory.

TREATIES are the currency of International Statesmanship.

* * *

THE nation that cannot bear the truth is not fit for war.

* * *

IT is not what happens to you in life that matters, it is the way in which you face it.

* * *

IT is only a minority of people who are cowards.

* * *

ALL our rights and liberties have been won by men who counted their lives as nothing as long as their country and their faith were free.

* * *

THE British temper is one of never wasting heroism on needless display, but there is plenty of it for the need.

It is appointed that men should die once, and after that the judgment.

Brave men die, but they need not fear the judgment.

It is appointed that cowards shall die, but after that the judgment.

They fall into the unhonoured grave of the men who have never given up anything which is precious to them, to their country, their religion or their kind.

After that the judgment!

* * *

The average Briton is too shy to be a hero until he is asked.

* * *

A community is entitled to the utmost help of every member who partakes of its life. The body is entitled to the protection of the right arm. It is essential to the welfare of the whole that each member should make his contribution to the defence of the rest. The community is entitled to the best each member can give, not as a favour, not as a privilege, but as a duty and a right.

We began recruiting for our armies by voluntary appeal. It was one of the most magnificent achievements in the history of the world. Millions came forward. No other country that ever lived, no other country under the sun, ever produced such a voluntary army. We never left the voluntary system until it ran dry.

* * *

There are men who maintain that war is not justifiable under any conditions. I have great respect for them, but I am afraid I shall never be able to attain in this world to that altitude of idealism.

It was not the creed of the Puritan Fathers. I maintain it is not the principle of the Christian faith. That deprecates revenge. It deprecates retaliation. But I never heard a saying of the Master's which would condemn men for striking a blow for right, justice or the protection of the weak.

* * *

We are fighting Germany, Austria and Drink, and as far as I can see the greatest of these three deadly foes is Drink.

DRINK is doing us more damage in the war than all the German submarines put together.

* * *

THE Russian drink prohibition is one of the greatest acts of national heroism which I think any country has ever displayed in the face of great danger.

* * *

BRITISH credit is built on solid foundations which no foreseeable contingency can destroy.

* * *

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer upon these occasions is the least picturesque and the most perilous of all the combatants. He is simply a coal-heaver ; he is filling the bunkers of the battleships and is cursed by everybody as a nuisance.

* * *

IT is intolerable that the life of Britain should be imperilled for the matter of a farthing an hour.

British courage and British tenacity always come in, and they always will, but let us remember that British cash tells too. When the others were exhausted, we were getting our second breath, and our third, and our fourth. We shall spend our last before we are beaten.

* * *

The fabrics of Germany are more showy but less enduring than the fabrics of this country. Let us show that, however pretentious German patriotism may be, ours is made of a better and more lasting quality.

* * *

I don't mind the guillotining of ministers or generals, if necessary, but until they reach the scaffold they ought to be obeyed, and above all, don't unnerve them by sniping at them from behind.

* * *

The world owes much to little nations—and to little men!

If I were to give a motto to a man who is going to a conference between employers and workmen I would say: "Take your time, don't hurry. It will come round with patience and tact and temper."

* * *

The fallen have no nationality.

* * *

Time is a hesitating and perplexed neutral. He has not yet decided on which side he is going to swing his terrible scythe. For the moment that scythe is striking both sides with terrible havoc. The hour will come when it will be swung finally on one side or the other.

Time is the deadliest of all the neutral powers. Let us see that we enlist him among our allies.

The only way to win time is not to lose time.

* * *

The surest method of establishing the reign of peace on earth is by making the way of the transgressor of the peace of nations too hard for the rulers of men to tread.

In the old Welsh legends there is a story of a man who was given a series of what appeared to be impossible tasks to perform ere he could reach the desires of his heart. Among others things he had to do was to recover every grain of seed that had been sown in a large field and bring it all in without one missing by sunset. He came to an ant-hill and won all the hearts and enlisted the sympathies of the industrious little people. They spread over the field, and before sundown the seed was all in except one grain, and as the sun was setting over the western skies a lame ant hobbled along with that grain also.

Some of us have youth and vigour and suppleness of limb, some of us are crippled with years or infirmities, and we are at best but lame ants. But we can all limp along with some share of our country's burden, and thus help her in this terrible hour to win the desire of her heart.

* * *

The theory of bigness, this theory that you must have a *big* Empire, and a *big* nation, and a *big* man—well, long legs have their advantage in a retreat.

I THINK we are too ready to scoff at creeds which promise the glories of their paradise to those who die for the cause or for the country they are devoted to. It is but a crude expression of a truth which is the foundation of every great faith, that sacrifice is ever the shortest road to redemption.

* * *

GOD has chosen little nations as the vessels by which He carries His choicest wines to the lips of humanity, to rejoice their hearts, to exalt their vision, to stimulate and strengthen their faith ; and if we had stood by when two little nations were being crushed and broken by the brutal hands of barbarism, our shame would have rung down the everlasting ages.

* * *

THE greatest art in the world was the work of little nations ; the most enduring literature of the world came from little nations ; the greatest literature of England came when she was a nation of the size of Belgium fighting a great Empire.

THE heroic deeds that thrill humanity through generations were the deeds of little nations fighting for their freedom. Yes, and the salvation of mankind came through a little nation.

* * *

A NATION cannot endure to the end that has on its soul the crime of Belgium.

* * *

WHAT was Belgium's crime? Their crime was that they trusted to a Prussian king. I do not know what the Kaiser hopes to achieve by this war. I have a shrewd idea what he will get; but one thing he has made certain, and that is that no nation will ever commit that crime again.

* * *

BELGIUM was to be nominally neutral. But Belgian roads, Belgian rivers and railways were to take sides, and in modern warfare railways are more formidable weapons than rifles.

THERE must be a revised version of one passage of the Scriptures in Belgium. It must be revised for Belgian use and read: "Who is thy neighbour? Thy neighbour is he who falls on thee like a thief, strips thee and wounds thee, and leaves thee half dead." That is Germany's version of duty to a neighbour.

* * *

WHO can doubt the valour of Serbia when she undertook to tackle her newspaper editors?

* * *

Now, looking back, you can see what happened. You can see Austria hovering like a hawk over the Balkan fields, and if you are country bred, you know what that means. You know it will not be long before it swoops down and some poor helpless creature will be quivering in its talons. The vulture has been hanging over Belgium for some time. We know that now. It has made a mistake. It thought it was pouncing on a rabbit, and it fell on a hedgehog, and has been bleeding and sore ever since.

THIS war is like a cannon which fires armies like projectiles against points of attack. The Germans discovered early in the war that the railways are a great military machine. As usual, we come a little later.

* * *

THE perfidy of the Germans has always failed. They entered Belgium to save time. The time has gone. They have not gained time but have lost their good name.

* * *

THE history of Serbia is not unblotted. Whose history in the category of nations is unblotted? The first nation that is without sin, let her cast a stone at Serbia. She was a nation trained in a horrible school, but she won her freedom with a tenacious valour and she has maintained it by the same courage.

* * *

POOR old mailed fist!
Its knuckles are getting a little bruised.
Poor shining armour!
The shine is being knocked out of it.

France has provided something like one in six of her population, the last child in the family summoned and crimsoning the field of sacrifice. When we talk about our sacrifices let us look across to the front and see what France is doing.

* * *

German Ambitions

Russia, a toothless bear chained in its pit.

France, with neither wings to soar nor spurs to defend herself.

Britain, a harmless whale in the German Ocean, fit only for blubber for Germany.

* * *

I was reading the other day an old Welsh legend about an eagle which a man in the course of his travels came across in a lonely valley. The eagle was perched on a stone, and he said to the traveller: "Do you see this stone? When I first came here this stone was so high a mountain that every night I could peck at the stars. Now it is hardly a span above the earth." The German eagle was once so high that he pecked at the stars. He is not yet quite on the earth, but he is getting near it.

CAN you name a single country in the world for the freedom of which modern Prussia has ever sacrificed a single life? By the test of our faith, the highest standard of civilisation is the readiness to sacrifice for others.

* * *

GOD made man in His own image, high of purpose, in the region of the spirit; German civilisation would re-create him in the image of a Diesel machine—precise, accurate, powerful, but with no room for soul to operate.

* * *

HAVE you read the Kaiser's speeches? If you have not a copy I advise you to buy one; they will soon be out of print and you will not have many more of the same sort.

* * *

THE Prussian Junker is the road-hog of Europe.

* * *

HOW dare you criticise a Prussian official? And if you laugh it is a capital offence.

THE man who declines to discharge his duty because his creditor is too poor to enforce it is a blackguard.

* * *

THE Ottoman Empire is just a second-rate Mohammedan Empire, although it gives itself airs of leadership of the whole Mohammedan world.

* * *

I HAVE seen the miner in many spheres and capacities.

I have seen him as a worker, and there is no better.

I have seen him as a politician, and there is no sounder.

I have seen him as a singer, and there is no sweeter.

I have seen him as a footballer, and he is terrible to behold.

I have seen him as a soldier, and there is no better warrior in Europe.

In all capacities, he is always in deadly earnest,

Always courageous, always loyal,

A steadfast friend, but a dangerous foe.

Coal is the most terrible of enemies, and the most potent of friends.

* * *

The blood which courses through the veins of industry in this country is made of distilled coal. In peace and war King Coal is the paramount Lord of Industry.

* * *

"Peace without victory." What would it mean? It would mean not a peace but a rest—a rest for the Central Powers, a time to recuperate from their exhausted condition.

* * *

Every housewife we want to become "mistress" of the Government—to administer that part of the King's Dominions which is in her immediate sphere. Let them govern it for the King, and carry out the King's regulations. Let them have, if you will, eight million governments, so that each helps to win the war.

You and I know farmers. I come of a farming stock myself, and the farmer is very well able to look after himself in a bargain. I have never seen a price offered him that he accepted the first time. I have never seen him offered a bargain when he did not say it was ridiculously low. Mr Prothero knows the farmer very well. Let them fight out this question of prices among themselves. But when I see him trying to fix the price of potatoes and men come along who never saw a potato except in a dish beginning to interfere, well, it reminds me of a thing I have seen at fairs, even in Wales, where the farmer and the dealer are trying to strike a bargain, one offering far too little, perhaps, and the other asking far too much, and both of them knowing it. Then sometimes you find one of these meddlers—who are always skulking for mischief even at fairs—come in and begin to interfere. You know what happens. They both turn on him. They understand each other quite well.

* * *

One of the difficulties of saving is the question of pride.

THE American people under Lincoln fought not a war of conquest but a war of liberation. We to-day are fighting not a war of conquest but of liberation, a liberation not of ourselves alone but of all the world, from that body of barbarous doctrine and inhuman practice which has estranged nations, has held back the unity and progress of the world, and which has stood revealed in all its deadly iniquity in the course of this war. In such wars for liberty there can be no compromise. They are either won or lost.

* *

IT may be said war itself is barbaric. So it is. That is why I hope at the end of this you will have the conviction driven into the hearts of men that they must establish some means by which war shall be a thing of the dark past.

* * *

I SHOULD regard the war as having failed in one of its chief purposes unless it led to an all-round reduction in the inflated cost of armaments.

I HAVE often been struck by the growth of both tenderness and stern determination in the face of Lincoln as shown in his photographs as the war went on. Despite his abhorrence of all that war entailed, he persisted in it because he knew that he was sparing life by losing it, that, if he agreed to compromise, the blood that had been shed on a hundred fields would have been shed in vain, that the task of creating a united nation of free men would only have to be undertaken again at even greater cost at some later day.

* * *

THE people of the Dominions know that I am not a Jingo. My record contains no journeys into flamboyant Imperialism. Yet I regard this Imperial Council as marking the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the Empire. The war has changed us, heaven knows : it has taught us more than we yet understand. It has opened a new age for us, and we want to go into that new age together with our fellows overseas, just as we have come through the darkness together, and shed our blood and treasure together.

FIVE democracies, all parts of one Empire, cannot shed their blood and treasure with a heroism and disregard of cost which have been beyond all praise without leaving memories of comradeship and of a great accomplishment which will never die. Of this I am certain, the peoples of the Empire will have found a unity in the war such as never existed before it—a unity not only in history, but a unity of purpose.

* * *

WE stand at this moment on the verge of the greatest liberation which the world has seen since the French Revolution.

* * *

WHEN the people of Central Europe accept the peace which is offered them by the Allies, not only will the Allied peoples be free as they have never been free before, but the German people too will find that in losing their dream of an Empire over others they have found self-government for themselves.

THE terms of peace will only be a beginning. After they are satisfactorily arranged we shall have to set to work to build up that ordered freedom and fraternity which is the only security for human peace and progress, and which militarism has destroyed.

WAR SONGS

Deutschland über Alles

Treaties ?
They tangle the feet of Germany in her advance.
Cut them with the sword !

Little Nations ?
They hinder Germany in her advance.
Trample them in the mire beneath the German heel !

The Russian Slav ?
He challenges the supremacy of Germany and Europe.
Hurl your legions at him and massacre him !

Britain ?
She is a constant menace to the predominancy of Germany in the world.
Wrest the trident out of her hand !

Christianity ?
Sickly sentimentalism about sacrifice for others !
Poor pap for German digestion !

We will have a new diet,
We will force it upon the world.
It will be made in Germany—
A diet of blood and iron.

What remains ?
Treaties have gone,
The honour of nations has gone,
Liberty has gone.

What is left ?
Germany !
Germany is left !
" Deutschland über Alles ! "

Great Britain

This is a great country,
A country with a good many natural advantages.
That it is an island is not a matter to be despised,
Be thankful there is a fine old moat round this castle.
Don't take advantage of that to do nothing,
Work all the harder for gratitude that you have got it,
Work all the harder to preserve it.
They are trying to bridge it,
They are trying to make it impossible for us to use it.
Defend your island.
Defend the moat that is round it.

This is a rich land,
Rich in its soil,
Rich in the deposits under the soil,
Rich in its people,
Rich in its past,
Rich in its present,
God knows what riches there are in its future—
That depends upon its people to-day.

This is a great land.
It has the possession of a great past,
Which the struggles of generations for freedom have matured into the traditions of liberty,
That have enriched it, and have ennobled its institutions,
And dignified its people.

It is an inheritance worth defending.
No man or woman who shares in that inheritance, as we all do,
Has the right to pass its defence on to his neighbour—
Or to his neighbour's son—
But should stand for it himself.
It is as much his as theirs.
The duty, the privilege, the pride of defending it
Ought to be his as much as theirs.

Then, when the struggle is over, we can each feel
That we have not merely held Britain immune from the greatest terror that ever menaced its liberty,
But that this land stood foremost among the nations of the earth,
Organised and arrayed in defence of the flag of human civilisation.

A New Britain

When the smoke of this great conflict has
been dissolved in the atmosphere we
breathe,
A New Britain will reappear.

It will be the old country still,
But it will be a new country.

Its commerce will be new,
Its trade will be new,
Its industries will be new.

There will be new conditions of life and
toil,
For Capital and Labour alike.
There will be new relations
Between both of them—and for ever.

But there will be new ideas,
There will be a new outlook,
There will be a new character in the land.

The men and women of this country
Will be burnt into fine building material
for the New Britain,
In the fiery kilns of the war.

Not merely the millions who—please God!
—come back from the battle-field, to
enjoy the victory won by their bravery—
A finer foundation I would not want for the
new country, but it will be not merely
that—
The Britain that is to be
Will depend also upon what will be done now
By the many more millions who remain at
home.

There are rare epochs in the history of the
world
When in a few raging years
The character, the destiny, of the whole race
Is determined for unknown ages.
This is one.

The winter wheat is being sown.
It is better, it is surer,
It is more bountiful in its harvest
Than when it is sown in the soft springtime.

There are many storms to pass through.
There are many frosts to endure,
Before the land brings forth its green
promise.

But let us not be weary in well-doing,
For in due season we shall reap if we faint
not.

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THE WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA

THERE may be something to be said for a war so long as it is entered upon for an unselfish purpose. The influence of a war must always be brutalising at best; but still, if you enter upon it for an unselfish purpose there is something which almost consecrates the sacrifices, bloodshed and suffering endured.

But when you enter upon a war purely and simply for the purposes of plunder, I know of nothing which is more degrading to the country or more hideous in its effects on the mind and character of the people engaged in it.

* * *

I AM not going to discuss the origin of the war. As an old man said in the Sunday school once: "The question is not how sin came into the world, but how you are going to get it out of the world."

A WAR of annexation against a proud people must be a war of extermination.

* * *

I THINK it was John Bright who said that the people took no interest in diplomacy until it had been made interesting by war. That is perfectly true.

* * *

ANOTHER significant fact that had resulted from this war was the action of the Queen with regard to Ireland. This had a deeper significance to his mind than even the Queen's greatest admirer had claimed for it. The shamrock for which men and women had been hanged in Ireland was now worn by the Queen herself. What did this mean ? It meant that the Queen had found a better way to unite the Empire than her Ministers, and by the simple act of recognition of that Irish nationhood which had led thousands of brave Irishmen to the scaffold, she had done more for the unity of the Empire in a single day than all her Ministers had done in their lifetime.

The right hon. gentleman (Mr Joseph Chamberlain) had got into the habit of talking of these wars as if they were feathers in his cap. If he only went on, the right hon. gentleman's head-gear would be like that of a Red Indian.

* * *

It is singularly unfair that future generations should have to bear the brunt of expenditure incurred by their forefathers.

* * *

If Ministers of the Crown are allowed to have large interests, direct or indirect, in firms providing munitions of war to the Government, I know of no greater danger to the peace of the country or to its security. It is not that any Minister you can imagine sitting in this House would ever deliberately, for the sake of promoting his own private interests, engage in war. That is too horrible a suggestion even to think of, and I do not suggest it. But there is, again, the subtile influence of the constant action of a man's permanent interest upon his judgment. It does give him a bias without his knowing it.

One of the first things anyone hears after crossing the Atlantic is charges of corruption brought against public men in connection with public municipalities and even the State. It is suggested that contracts are given purely from influence, and if anyone draws a contrast between that country and this, his heart is filled with British pride at the purity of our statesmanship.

* * *

I believe a good deal in Army Reform, but I do not believe in increasing our Army. We do not want a big Army, and we have no need to imitate our Continental neighbours.

Please make no mistake. I do believe in a strong Navy. We have a vast Empire beyond the seas; it has got to be defended. We have an unparalleled commerce; our food stuffs nearly all come from abroad. And, moreover, a large Navy has another good side; it prevents any possibility of panic. But a large "Continental Army" —no, we do not want that. (1903.)

* * *

It is easier to judge of a war twenty years after it is over than at the time.

LAND AND LANDLORDS

Who is the landlord?

The landlord is a gentleman—

I have not a word to say about him in his personal capacity—

The landlord is a gentleman who does not earn his wealth.

He does not even take the trouble to receive his wealth.

He has a host of agents and clerks to receive it for him.

He does not even take the trouble to spend his wealth.

He has a host of people around him to do the spending for him.

He never sees it until he comes to enjoy it.

His sole function, his chief pride, is stately consumption of wealth produced by others.

* * *

It is not against foreign tariffs we want to be protected. What we want is protection against the landlord's tariff.

Who laid the foundations of the mountains? Was it the landlord? And yet he, by some divine right, demands as his toll—for merely the right for men to risk their lives in hewing those rocks—eight millions a year.

* * *

Attack the land monopoly — Church, brewers, publicans, landlords, they're all together at once with a sort of instinct. I remember perfectly well in 1880, when Mr Gladstone attacked the Sultan of Turkey, all the publicans, parsons, landlords and bashi bazouks stood instantly side by side in defence of any despotism.

* * *

Go to any town and say to a tradesman: "You seem to be doing very well here, but you have very little room. Why do you not open out?" "Open out," he says, "where am I going to open out? I cannot build in the clouds, and if I did I should be charged a ground-rent, because by the laws of England you can charge a ground-rent if you build right up to Mars. The landlord is the owner up to heaven."

Talking of the daughter of the horse leech, if there had been ground landlords in that day and royalty owners, the inspired writer would have alluded to them as examples of greed.

* * *

You see towns crammed and crushed in. They are not allowed to spread out at all. There is something unseen, an influence sinister, which seems crushing them in with a bear's hug. We must clip the bear's claw.

* * *

The trusts in this country are a part of the social fabric; they have their commencement in the days of William the Conqueror. The first is the great land trust.

* * *

The land in London is worth more than all the municipal debt in the kingdom. Who created that wealth? It was not the landlords. London was a swamp and the landlords did not even create that.

THERE have only been three or four great confiscations in this country, and they have all enriched the aristocracy and impoverished the people.

* * *

THERE is no land under the sun that repays capital more than the land of England. It is the richest under the sun. That is why the Saxons took it away from us and left us the hills I would not exchange.

* * *

A GAMEKEEPER would rather not have too many cottages spread about the estate. Some of the cottagers occasionally go out at night. An occasional partridge or hare or pheasant may find its way into the cotter's soup. So game preservers never encourage the development of these small holdings.

* * *

GAMEKEEPERS, a useful employment for making and keeping together prisons, all in the interests of the people!

THE protection of property in this country is the most perfect machine ever devised by the human brain. The guardians of property patrol every street, and if the transgressor eludes their vigilance he is pursued to the ends of the earth. Continents cannot hide him, the waves of the sea cannot cover his tracks.

But compare this with the way in which the Public Health Acts, the Housing Acts, are administered in this country. You have Housing Acts on the Statute Book, and yet there is no city or town, not a village, in which you have not got the reek of insanitary property. I want to see the law protecting property. Yes; but I also want to see it protecting the worker's home.

* * *

LAND in the town seems to be let by the grain, as if it were radium.

* * *

THE land is the bountiful mother that gives to the children of men sustenance, security and rest.

Peace is such a blessing! Peace is such a treasure that it is undoubtedly worth spending money to make it absolutely secure. But we must also make not merely our shores secure. We must make our homes secure.

* * *

The land of this country was not created and given as an endowment to maintain the dignity and delight of a small class. It was given for the benefit of the children of the soil.

* * *

Liberalism will not let men use land as a toy.

THE CHURCH, NONCONFORMITY AND EDUCATION

THE best of religion is that which is common to all sects, and the most barren region of religion is that which is filled with theological controversy.

* * *

WHEN religion calls in the assistance of the State, to the extent of that assistance that religion is a failure.

* * *

THE affair of the clergy is not to look after this world. They should leave that to the lawyers, whose interests, I am told, end here.

* * *

LESS overcrowding in the schools and more overcrowding in the churches.

Parsons are the men who are least acquainted with business, the men who have had the least training in business, and they should not be allowed to administer the most important branch of the communal administration.

* * *

Who freed the political slaves in our country? Nonconformity. How did they do it? Not by preaching politics—no. But they restored to the man the mastery over his own soul—made a man of him.

* * *

The Dissenters, despised as they may be, once upon a time taught a lesson to the House of Lords, and ere another year has passed they will be able to say: "Here endeth the second lesson."

* * *

If you attack the Church you find in every parish road in the kingdom brewers' drays full of barrels to buttress up the falling Church.

Freedom, the greatest triumph of civilisation, was won in this country by the Free Churches. And if there is perfect freedom in this land for any man in any place of worship, it is because its doorposts and its lintels are sprinkled with the blood of Nonconformists.

* * *

On one side you see the great baronial castle and the stately Elizabethan mansion, and on the other side a little red-brick building with a word on a board, either "Methodist," or "Congregationalist" or "Baptist." One thing you may be certain about, and that is that the little chapel is the only place in the village that will stand up to that castle. All the men in the village who would decline to cringe, they are there. Those little buildings — unsightly sometimes—they are the sanctuaries and citadels of village independence.

* * *

If you fill the lungs of the children with good air, you empty the purses of the parsons of good gold.

I HAVE seen columns of *The Times* filled with this: "Undenominational teaching in the Board Schools is obnoxious to Churchmen." To teach kindness, goodness, honesty, purity, temperance, chastity—this is undenominational, obnoxious to all good Churchmen! To teach them to cringe before wealth; yes, this is pure religion and undefiled, and therefore you ought to endow it. And you are to order yourselves humbly and lowly to wealth. That is not the teaching I would have. I would rather have the words which the American schools teach: "If any man be great among you let him be a servant." All the great Presidents of America have been poor men without a pedigree.

* * *

THE rich man can afford to be ignorant, the poor man cannot.

* * *

I REMEMBER when I used to travel to Carnarvon, the chief town in my constituency, by the eight o'clock train in the morning—I used to get up early in those

days—when we came to a little mining village of Cwmffyngg—you cannot pronounce those names—you have not got secondary education—when you spend as much as Wales, you will be able to say Pwrnynnm. When we came to this little mining village, the carriage would be inundated with little youngsters so high—quarrymen's children! Where were they going? To the secondary schools, having won scholarships from the Board School, which enabled them to travel every morning and get the same education as the richest man in that constituency. I'll tell you what we want: less Catechism and more education.

* * *

EVERYBODY says you must train your youth; you must develop their brains, strengthen their minds; you must make them fit and proper men to fight the commercial battles of their country. But then the parson comes in and says: "You must first of all learn my little drill-book—my halfpenny Catechism first, and every little company must be under my command." Let us tell these gentlemen to clear out of

the way. It is too serious a matter for this country to be bothered by the parson. He is blocking the traffic with his one-horse shay. Tell him: "My dear sir, your intentions are good, your motives first rate, but we have got to get along, and unless you clear out of the way our motor car will run over you." This battle is to be won by brains, and I don't think the parson can help us there.

* * *

SWITZERLAND spends upon education fifty-five times as much per head of the population as this great and wealthy Empire, whose praises we are never tired of singing on our platforms. Never was such an Empire! Great! Colossal! I have forgotten the adjectives! There was a perfect ocean of them at the last election, and this Government swam into power on them. Never was such an Empire! And yet here is this one miserable little country of Switzerland, which has no colonies, on whose dominions the sun does set, where the tax-collector does go to bed, which has no navy, no great wars, no Colonial Secretary!—this little miserable country spends

fifty-five times as much upon the development of the brains of its people as this great Empire!

* * *

You want with education to make better citizens. Not a thing to be despised. Better citizens! The people reign now. The "Government of the sovereign people" is not a mere phrase. We say the Government is a bad one. Heaven knows it is. But it is yours. It is yours; and you have sent them there. The people made them, and I hope the people are proud of their creation. The people can unmake them. And so they will. If you make bad governments they generally come from bad citizenship. Don't let us flatter ourselves. It is the people who are to blame for bad government in a democratic country.

* * *

The best manure you can give the land is brains after all. I know a farmer—I have him in my mind now. I turn in there and find a well-stocked library. Most of the farmers say: "Look at that man wasting

his time on books. Alison's *History of Europe*, Macaulay's *History of England*. Good gracious! A good dung-heap would do him more good." But that farmer has put Macaulay's *History of England* into the land, and he is twice as good a farmer as any of his neighbours. If I were to suggest to Mr Chaplin that education had anything to do with agriculture he would be tremendously shocked. He would say it is all an affair of pure beer, and he would as soon think of educating his oxen. But it has; and what is true about the land is true about every industry.

* * *

I HAD rather be a poor man with a sixpence to buy, say, an *Ivanhoe*, than an ignorant man who could send half-a-dozen relays to a well-stocked wine-cellar any day.

* * *

THOSE of you who have not had the advantage of the Catechism, I will send you away with a good denominational instruction. This is the thing I was taught in one of these schools myself. I was taught to

order myself lowly and reverently to my betters. With an inquisitive instinct I asked: "Who are my betters?" and they said: "The squire." Well, I had my doubts then. I have none now. But I will tell you what I did. Fifteen years after I submitted that very question to the electors of the Carnarvon Boroughs, as to whether he or I were the better man, and the majority, who knew us both, said the Catechism was wrong. The squire could not believe it, said there must be a mistake, so he submitted the same question again, and they gave the same answer by an increased majority. So I believe he has given up the Catechism.

WEALTH AND POVERTY

STATESMEN should provide for the wants of a people before respecting the urbanity of a class; they should alleviate the misery of the poor before pandering to the vanity of the rich.

It is something worse than ridiculous—it is criminal—to send a punt to save a ship's crew because the lifeboat is wanted for a pleasure trip.

* * *

THE assumption that when a man accumulates riches it is a proof of superior and superlative virtues, and that when a man dies poor it is, on the other hand, a proof that he has not been a very well-conducted citizen, is true neither in history nor in fact.

* * *

THERE is nothing Capital need fear as much as the despair of the multitude.

Not all the thrift in the world will enable a man to accumulate a million, and beyond a certain point most of the wealth of this country is accumulated a good deal by luck.

* * *

The privileged classes are those who squander the resources of a community without helping to produce them.

* * *

The idle rich—my opponents emphasise the word rich; it is the adjective that I would put in italics.

* * *

A small number of people like to take their sport in the form of destroying something; the vast majority prefer cultivation to destruction. Some like blood, others prefer bloom. The former is considered a more high-class taste; but so few of us can afford to belong to that exalted order,—they must be content with such humble pleasures as flower gardens and vegetable patches and fruit bushes can afford them.

READ Charles Booth—his account of the mean streets of some of the London slums is like a supplement to Dante's *Inferno.*

* * *

OURS is a hard climate for poverty. In the warm and bright climates of the South, less food, less clothing, less shelter are needed. There the sun is the luxury of the unemployed; one is less sorry for the tattered wretch who slumbers with empty pockets in the balmy shade than for the careworn peasant who toils for a full, if frugal, meal under the scorching rays of the Southern sun; but fogs and damp and frost are cruel on rags and wretchedness. This is a torturing climate for destitution.

* * *

THE poorer the people, the more is their food confined to bread and tea.

* * *

DECEPTION is always a pretty contemptible vice, but to deceive the poor is the meanest of all.

THIS is a rich country. It is the richest country under the sun, and yet in this rich country you have hundreds and thousands of people living under conditions of poverty, destitution and squalor that would, in the words of an old Welsh poet, make the rocks weep. This is the stain upon the flag.

FREE TRADE AND PROTECTION

I AM standing for Britain—Britain and the flag of freedom in her markets. It is better worth fighting for than an excess of public-houses; it is better worth fighting for than bigotry in our schools; it is the flag of freedom and fair play.

* * *

FREE TRADE locks no door against the good things that Providence has left for the people. We take the sunshine wherever it comes—the sunshine and the rain that ripen the harvest wherever they fall.

* * *

WE have got a home market, but we want the markets of the world as well. The home market would be a poorer market if we had not the world market as well.

Free Trade may be the Alpha, but it is not the Omega, of the Liberal policy.

* * *

In cotton the Free Trade traveller comes out an easy first; his goods have got the gloss of freedom on them, and they go.

* * *

If you are bound to have unemployment you had better have it with cheap bread than with dear bread.

* * *

You can frighten people about Halley's Comet. You can tell them what a frightful catastrophe will happen when we pass through the tail. But once we are through, all the dangers are over and you will know how thin it is. And it was just the same with the Protectionist bogey. There it is. It now fills the sky. But in a very short time we shall have passed through it and we shall know that it is the thinnest of gas.

PROTECTION is just one of those artificial stimulants that once a country begins to take nips and to get it into her system she cannot throw it off.

* * *

PROTECTION is a quicksand. Once you get your feet in it, the more you struggle the deeper you sink.

* * *

YOU must raise money in a way that does not injure business, trade, commerce and industry. Of course you must. That is why I object to tariffs.

* * *

HERE you are in this Protectionist paradise (America), where you have got Custom House officers lining the shores like cherubims, with the flaming sword of a scorching tariff to keep out every foreign-made article from the Garden of Eden. Here, once you enter the garden, you will find the serpents of hunger, want, unemployment, hissing in every glade.

I do not want to quote these second-rate shops in Germany or elsewhere, and ask Britain, the foremost trader in the world, to follow the example of people whom it has taught to do business. We were in business long before they ever started their shops.

THE LORDS AND DEMOCRACY

THE Lords may decree a revolution, but the people will direct it.

* * *

YOU associate with the House of Peers stateliness, dignity, reserve, majesty almost, until the Peers begin to speak.

* * *

A FULLY equipped duke costs as much to keep up as two "Dreadnoughts," and they are just as great a terror, and they last longer.

As long as they were contented to be mere idols on their pedestals, preserving that stately silence which became their rank and their intelligence, all went well, and the average British citizen rather looked up to them and said to himself: "Well, if the worst comes to the worst for this old country, we have always the dukes to fall back upon."

The Lords slaughtered without compunction Temperance Bills. Who is there who would befriend the drunkard? He cannot do it himself. He is at their mercy, and the drunkard's wife has no vote.

* * *

You go to a restaurant, and if you get an exceedingly polite waiter there he shows you a dish before he starts carving it, in order to ascertain whether it meets your wishes.

I will tell you what the House of Lords does. If the cook is a Liberal one, it insists upon showing the dish and ascertaining the views of every customer before it serves a single cut, until it gets quite cold.

But if the cook happens to be a Tory one, it never ascertains the views of the customer. He has to take it. And very often when he has ordered chicken he simply gets crow.

* * *

Many a noble house tottering to its fall has had its foundations underpinned, has had its walls buttressed, by a pile of American dollars.

When we lend money to the world we lend it for a good percentage. If you have any doubt about it, ask Lord Rothschild. I hope that is not another insult to Lord Rothschild. You dare not mention this great potentate on a Liberal platform except in the language of idolatry, which I am not in the habit of using.

* * *

When you reckon up the National Wealth and begin to talk about imports and exports—when you add up our bank balances and the value of our railways, our house property and our investments — I have never seen a balance sheet of that kind up to the present that did not omit the greatest asset of all, and that is the men, the women and the children of the land.

* * *

Lord Curzon states that civilisation has been the work of aristocracy. That is not the view of Nonconformity. We are of the humble belief that the carpenter's Son of Nazareth had more to do with it, that the Galilean fisherman had far more to do

with what is best and brightest in our civilisation. Let me say it with reverence that the heaviest swell among them was purely an exciseman. No aristocracy there, and yet civilisation owes its best and purest to them.

WALES AND THE WELSH

Lloyd George and his Critics

It is not fear that makes Wales law-abiding; it is instinct.

* * *

You remember what Mr Gladstone said about us : "Your submissiveness is sheep-like." Well, we are going to substitute for the sheep on our national flag the dragon. "Y ddraig goch a ddyry gychwyn."

* * *

We have been charged with almost every vice and defect in the whole category of human flaws as a race, not even our worst defamers have ever accused us of cowardice.

* * *

When the Celt has a nail in his boot he takes it out.

THERE is a little land among the mountains of the west in these islands, and I would not barter one heart-beat of the devoted loyalty of its people to me for all the wealth that the City of London owns.

* * *

MOUNTAINS are the ramparts thrown up by God throughout His earth for the defence of freedom.

* * *

THEY say to me: "You are a thief; you are worse, you are an attorney; worst of all, you are a Welshman." That is the crowning epithet. Well, gentlemen, I do not apologise; I could not help it, and I do not mind telling you that if I could I would not.

I am proud of the little land among the hills.

But there is one thing I should like to say. Whenever they hurl my nationality at my head, I say to them: "You Unionists! You hypocrites! Pharisees! You are the people who in every peroration—well, they have only got one—always talk about our being one kith and kin throughout the

Empire, from the old man at Hoy in the north down to Van Diemen's Land in the south." And yet if any man dares to aspire to any position, who does not belong to the particular nationality which they have dignified by choosing their parents from, they have no use for him.

Well, they have got to stand the Welshman this time!

* * *

If I hit back when somebody hits me, I am a truculent savage; if I am conciliatory I am climbing down. What am I to do? I will do what I have done from the start. I will take a straight course.

* * *

My race, my origin—they are all topics of their vituperation. I am proud of both. There is one quality that my little race has that gives them peculiar offence, especially the dullest amongst them, and that is the gift of imagination. It has pulled me through many a fight, because, when insults hurtle through the air, I can always see a vision on the horizon which sustains me.

THIS is the crown of all my iniquities. I have got Celtic blood in my veins. Well, there is much more Celtic blood in the Englishman everywhere than they are prepared to admit, and if you drained every drop of Celtic blood from his veins he would be pretty anæmic. We would not be strong enough to resist the Lords. Why, they treat me as if I were a foreigner. My race was here three thousand years ago.

* * *

I AM a man of the people, bred amongst them, and it has been the greatest joy of my life to have had some part in fighting the battles of the class from whom I am proud to have sprung.

* * *

I SPEAK as one who boasts I should like to be numbered among those who in their day and generation have done something to lift the poor out of the mire and the needy out of the dung-hill.

OLD AGE PENSIONS

OLD age is now an anticipation of honourable ease.

The workhouse has become the chimney corner.

The spectre has become an angel.

* * *

THE right hon. gentleman (Mr Bonar Law) said : Are you really going to pension a drunkard, the man who has been drunk all his life ? Well, if he has been drunk all his life, the chance of his living to seventy years is a very poor one, and, from the point of view of a contributory system, I know of no man who has contributed more lavishly to the national revenue. Therefore I think that rather from that point of view the right hon. gentleman might put in a word for him.

So long as you have taxes imposed upon commodities which are consumed practically by every family in the country, there is no such thing as a non-contributory scheme.

A workman who has contributed health and strength, vigour and skill to the creation of wealth by which taxation is borne has made his contribution already to the fund which is to give him a pension when he is no longer fit to create that wealth.

* * *

Social reformers, I think, make a great mistake if, when Government takes a single step in their direction, they insist upon their either not taking it at all or leaping up the whole flight at once. That is not the way to get on; it is the way to get a fall.

* * *

My hon. friend wants to know whether, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, I have a nest egg. I have no nest eggs at all. I have got to rob somebody's hen roost next year. I am on the lookout which will be the easiest to get and where I shall be

least punished, and where I shall get the most eggs, and, not only that, but where they can be most easily spared, which is another important qualification.

* * *

If a man had been able to pay his subscription to his friendly society up to the age of sixty years, the wife ought to benefit from it. It was very often owing to the wife's care and good housewifery that the man had been able to save any money and pay his subscription to his society, and she ought to have a fair share of the benefit of it. If the woman had been one who squandered her husband's means, he would not have been able to save anything.

* * *

I think we may assume that in the vast majority of cases the Irish labourer would be a member of a trade union. If there is an organisation got up for the purpose of fighting anybody, you may rely upon it that an Irish labourer will be somewhere in it.

MISCELLANEOUS

THE last thing in the world John Bull wants is to be mollycoddled.

* * *

THE essence of political independence is economic independence.

* * *

A PLUNGE over the precipice is not humanity's best route to the millennium.

* * *

To precipitate ideals is to retard their advent.

* * *

I WANT dreams, but dreams which are realisable. I cannot work for the twenty-fifth century ; I must work here and now.

A SCOTSMAN and his debts are soon parted.

* * *

I SHOULD like to create a campaign against snobbishness. It would purge the nation.

* * *

THE race has nothing to fear except from stagnation.

* * *

I LEARNT as a child that it was little use going into the woods after a period of calm and fine weather, for I generally returned empty-handed, but after a great storm I always came back with an armful. We are in for rough weather.

* * *

NATIONAL honour is no party question. The security of our great international trade is no party question; the peace of the world is much more likely to be secured if all nations realise fairly what the conditions of peace must be. (1911.)

We are very good at adapting ideas when other people have thoroughly tried them.

* * *

If a situation were forced upon us in which peace could only be preserved by the surrender of the great and beneficent position Britain has won by centuries of heroism and achievement, by allowing Britain to be treated where her interests were vitally affected as if she were of no account in the Cabinet of nations, then I say emphatically that peace would be a humiliation intolerable for a great country like ours to endure. (1911.)

* * *

If anybody going into politics thinks he is going to make money, let him take one bit of advice. In politics there is no cash.

* * *

The State ought to be the model employer, and I think that what the State has imposed on other employers it ought to accept for itself.

THE men who go into politics to make money are not politicians.

* * *

THERE is more sincerity in politics than politicians themselves realise.

* * *

THE corner stone of sound finance is peace on earth and good will among men.

* * *

MOST people talk of economy, but what they really mean is that you should economise in something they do not like and spend more on something which they are particularly keen about. I never met anybody yet who wanted economy all round.

* * *

MONEY spent on education, on housing, on lifting the lot of the people, is a better and a more assured investment than any which can be produced.

THERE was a very cruel king and taskmaster in the past who ordered Lord Rothschild's ancestors to make bricks without straw—I tell you that was a very much easier job than making Dreadnoughts without money.

* * *

WHY exempt a man from rendering an account of his taxable property purely because he has one man to fix his collar and adjust his tie in the morning, a couple of men to carry a boiled egg to him at breakfast, a fourth man to open the door for him, a fifth man to show him in and out of his carriage, and a sixth and seventh to drive him ?

All men for whom the community provides such privileges as these ought really to pay for them.

We want equal rights for all white men.

* * *

I HAVE always heard pessimistic prophecies ever since I was able to understand what was told me, and they never came to anything.

When I was making the Budget I inquired into everything and I had all sorts of suggestions. Why, one day I received a post card :

"I had two cats on my window-sill last night; there were three in the back garden. They kept me awake all night. Tax cats."

* * *

There were death duties in the Roman Empire, I am told, in the early days of the Christian era. I do not believe the Apostles had to pay much, except in respect of one of them, and he, I believe, spent his life dabbling in finance.

* * *

There has never been a revolution yet in which lawyers have not been very serviceable to the popular cause.

* * *

In public life there are so many men who have trained themselves to speak well. But how many are there among them who can interest, persuade and move multitudes ?

A SOLICITOR'S business is to master the affairs of everybody.

* * *

THERE are unreasonable men in every profession except that of the law.

* * *

IN every war there is a dearth of fighting men but a superabundance of strategists.

* * *

THE City is rather a chilly atmosphere for Liberalism. By the next election I trust we shall get rid of the refrigerating influence of the plural voter, and that the City will return to that Liberal allegiance which it owed in its palmiest political days.

* * *

THE Tory party must always have a bogey. There are certain tribes in this world—savage tribes—who are addicted to devil worship. The Tory party is one of those tribes.

HOPE is the mainspring of efficiency; complacency is its rust.

* * *

ANARCHY threatens civilisation with paralysis; Conservatism threatens it with death.

* * *

BY the optimism of a Liberal you may judge of his grip on Liberalism.

* * *

POLITICAL parties recovering from a downfall are like children getting up after a tumble, who blame and belabour the obtruction rather than their own awkwardness in getting round it.

* * *

LIBERALISM is natural growth. It is humanity's growing up. It is evolution —the evolution of man from the selfish savage to the considerate citizen.

The Committee stage of a Parliamentary Bill is the stage for the axe, the chisel and the plane.

The Report stage is the stage for the sandpaper just to alter the drafting.

* * *

Mr Gladstone's eloquence was independent of language. It was of the Marconi type of telegraphy. The electric waves which move audiences sped on their way without the adventitious aid of words.

* * *

Lord Rosebery's speeches are very curious productions: extraordinarily interesting and picturesque and very eloquent, but they always remind me of the Parable of the Virgins. His arguments, some of them are wise and some are foolish. The only difference is that they are not as equally distributed.

* * *

I like a man who puts a high value upon his principles.

CONSCIENCE—God's greatest gift to the human mind, the propeller and the rudder of human progress.

* * *

NEVER trust an individual, never trust a party, whose stock jest is a gibe at conscience.

* * *

LIBERTY owes as much to the foolhardiness of its foes as it does to the sapience and wisdom of its friends.

* * *

THE Man in the Street is the man who gives neither time nor serious thought to the study of politics.

* * *

As a rule it is the worker who is attacked with consumption. As one man said : "It rarely attacks a man who pays income tax." I do not suggest that as a remedy.

Every grain of freedom is more precious than radium, and the nation that throws it away is the most wanton of prodigals.

* * *

Amongst the legends of my native land there is one that always strikes me as full of meaning and instruction. It is a legend of the cauldron which never boils soup except for brave men. Our cause is of that character. What will become of this conflict depends entirely upon the courage, the firmness and the determination which the people display.

* * *

Freedom does not descend like manna from heaven. It has been won step by step, by tramping the wilderness, fighting enemies, crossing Jordan, and clearing Jebusites out of the land. I do not regret that we cannot obtain these blessings except by fighting. The common people have taken no step that was worth taking without effort, sacrifice and suffering.

WHENEVER they got a poor district, whether in Ireland or the west coast of Scotland, or in other parts of Great Britain, they would find the poor paying a higher proportion of the cost of government than any other class of the community. It was not so much a problem of two countries as a problem of two classes.

* * *

I NEVER recollect a time in politics when the situation in Europe was not serious. It is always the present state of Europe. You may shift the particular quarter from which the menace comes. At one time it might be the East or the Far East; the next it will be nearer. I have seen it as near as the French coast. Within the last five or six years people were talking glibly and solemnly about the prospect of war with France. There were prospects of invasion and plans for invasion. But that has shifted and now nobody ever dreams of that. Now there is another Empire which is supposed to be just as threatening. But this will go on from year to year and generation to generation, as it has done in the past, until nations realise the folly of scowling

at each other and sharpening their knives to plunge into each other, and spending gigantic sums of money which might be more profitably utilised for the purpose of improving the condition of their own people. (1908.)

* * *

THERE is no nation which has not got its social problems, its poverty and destitution, and it would be far better for all countries if, instead of spending £400,000,000 a year on munitions of war, they would come to a mutual understanding that two or three reasonable individuals could easily have arrived at long ago for the purpose of improving the condition of their own poor population.

* * *

IF we were placed in the position of having to defend ourselves against any foreign nation that wanted to make an attack upon us our resources are ample—should there be such persons—and we have enough and to spare afterwards to look after our own people at home.

We cannot support a gamble in suffering for the sake of any system.

* * *

Local rates at present are not borne by the people in proportion to their means.

The local tradesman pays an enormous contribution towards local expenditure when his income is taken into account. If we translate it into the terms of income it ranges from 2s., 3s., 4s., or 5s., in the £. As a matter of fact they have got a graduated income-tax in the localities, but it is in an inverse ratio.

* * *

The smaller a man's means the more he pays. There is an idea that the working man does not pay rates. Of course he does. The working man has to pay rates of from 1s. to 1s. 6d. per £ on his income in respect of local rates. On the other hand there may be a man with an income of £2000 or £5000 a year who pays rates on his local residence, which cost £20,000 or £30,000, and it is rated at £200 or £300 a year. That is not a fair standard to judge the burdens which such a man should bear.

A MAN with a large income which is not in the land does not bear anything like a fair proportion of local burdens imposed on the community for the purpose of the general health of the community. I do not think anyone can defend our present system of rating.

* * *

IN every industrial community unemployment is a permanent phenomenon, and I am afraid essentially a permanent phenomenon. Employers say: "We must have a reserve of workmen."

* * *

WHEN I was at the Board of Trade I was very much struck with the figures as to unemployment. I went over the figures for the last fifteen years and found that there was really very little difference between one decade and another; taking decade after decade, you get something like four to five per cent., on an average, out of work. That is a permanent problem and we really ought to face it.

We all value too highly the immunity which this country has so long enjoyed from the horrors of an invaded land to endanger it for lack of timely prevision. That immunity at its very lowest has been for generations, and still is, a great national asset. It has undoubtedly given us the tranquillity and the security which has enabled us to build up our great national wealth. At the highest it means an inviolable guarantee for our national freedom and independence. Nay, more. Many a time in comparatively recent history it has been the citadel and the sole guarantee which has saved the menaced liberties of Europe from an impending doom. We do not intend to put in jeopardy the naval supremacy which is so essential not only to our national existence, but, in our judgment, to the vital interests of Western Civilisation. (1909.)

* * *

We must ensure the complete security of our shores against all real dangers, but, rich nation as we are, we cannot afford to build navies against nightmares. It is much too expensive an operation.

SPENDING is pleasant, paying is irksome; spending is noble, paying is sordid.

* * *

THIS country is small—I suppose it is the smallest great country in the world—but we have by no means exhausted its possibilities for healthy and productive employment. It is no part of the function of a Government to create work; but it is an essential part of its business to see that the people are equipped to make the best of their own country.

* * *

A STATE can and ought to take a longer view and a wider view of its investments than individuals.

* * *

THE individual can rarely afford to wait, a State can; the individual must judge of the success of his enterprise by the testimony given for it by his bank book; a State keeps many ledgers, not all in ink, and when we wish to judge of the advantage

derived by a country from a costly experiment we must examine all those books before we venture to pronounce judgment.

* * *

THERE is no class of the community which has a harder struggle or a more anxious time than that composed of the men whose earnings just bring them within the clutches of the income-tax collector. On a small income they have not merely to maintain themselves, but to exhaust a large proportion of all endeavours known as "keeping up appearances." They are often much worse off and much more to be pitied than the artisan who earns half their wages. If they have only themselves to think about they do well, but when they have a family dependent upon them the obligation to keep up the appearance of respectability of all their dependents is very trying. I am strongly of opinion that they deserve special consideration in the rearrangements of our finances.

* * *

LAND and licences have this in common, that where they have a value at all it is a monopoly value.

It is undoubtedly one of the worst evils of our present system of land tenure that instead of reaping the benefit of the common endeavour of its citizens a community has always to pay a heavy penalty to its ground landlords for putting up the value of their land.

* * *

You have every element in Germany that would make a Tory paradise. (1908.)

* * *

Sourness and Socialism are really not necessarily concomitants.

* * *

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* * *

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